642 may not be satisfied by equal retribution but avenge the loss
614 of one of their members by killing two or more members of the
628 opposite clan. In former times this created a permanent state
182 of war within the nation, no large-scale political community could develop, and the resistance of the Barundi against external aggression was extremely weakened. The same was true of Ruanda (No. 48, p. 238). It was only the strong monarchy of the Batussi which, in its own interest, put an end to this permanent civil guerrilla warfare. However, now the clans use the vendetta for the protection of their members under the cover of secrecy. The former open guerrilla warfare has turned into insidious murder against which even the most powerful Batussi mutwale is not secure if he is guilty of bloody acts of violence against some clan. The effect of this avenging popular justice and the manner in which it is regarded by the people are reminiscent of our Vehmgericht of medieval times, although they are both quite different in other respects.

[106] Chapter 8

Marriage, Birth, Death

1. Contracting Marriage, Wife, Children

582 In most cases the Barundi are married (kurongora) at quite an early age: the men as soon as they can pay the bride price; the girls often at the age of twelve or even younger if they are [589] nubile. It is very rare that a man voluntarily remains a bachelor. If someone marries late, the only reason is that he is unable to raise the bride price, i.e., the purchase price of a wife. Marriages are exogamous; there are no cases of marriage within 583 the same clan (see p. 100). Bride stealing is unknown as a 685 marriage custom. If, under exceptional circumstances, it does occur it is treated as a case of common theft (No. 19, p. 358). 595 Concubinage is practiced particularly in the case when the son of a mutwale or a chief has to wait for a girl of equal rank to

583 [220] The sum paid by the bridegroom for his wife is pri-
556 marily an indication of his wealth and not the purchase price of the woman. That is why the rich pay proportionately much more than the poor. Thus, a great chief in Kissaka pays two cows and their calves for a wife; a lesser chief pays one cow and a calf; an ordinary Mututsi, only one cow. The bridegroom's payment is called inkwano. On the other hand, the woman gets a dowry, known as indongovanyo (wedding present). The woman's dowry is given by her father and his sister. Each of them gives one calf, and, in very rare cases, a cow.

[443] If the king wishes to marry, he sends forth one of his men with a forked wooden stick called isando. The king pays for a wife with many cows, but he does not accept a dowry because everything, of course, belongs to him anyway.

583 The payments and gifts among the Bahutu of Kissaka are not so large. The bridegroom, for example, pays six to eight hoes for his bride or very often a doti (four yards) of material and a sheep. The bride's father gives a dowry consisting of one hoe, and the father's sister gives a sheep. However, considerable quantities of beer are consumed on these occasions.

In Bugoye where a cow is often exchanged for a girl, the bride can also be paid for in services. The girls can thank this market value in terms of a cow for the compliments of the elegant cavaliers who compare them with cows. In Mulera where the Bahutu are wealthier and pay more for their wives, they cannot get a wife without a cow.

●589 A young unmarried girl is called inkumi. It is said of old maids that they fell into the hearth, baguye kuziko, or akapfa nimulindo, "she died in virginity."

836 Marriages with girls who have had sexual intercourse occur, but a bad reputation, at least in Mulera, is said to complicate the otherwise simple procedure of finding a husband.

[581] If a Mulera wishes his son to marry, he looks around for a
584 girl who might guarantee him important allies among her relatives. When he has made his choice and the oracle has pronounced favorably on the choice, he sends a present of beer to the girl's parents. The present is accepted if they wish to express their satisfaction with the courtship. The father of the girl must accept

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
IV. Ego's generation		
MoBrSo	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mubyarawanjye (one with with whom to beget-mine)
MoBrDa	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mubyarawanjye
MoFaBrSoSo	Name, nickname or Mwana	Mubyarawacu (one with whom to beget-our)
MoFaBrSoDa	Name, nickname or Mwana	Mubyarawacu
MoFaFaBrSoSoSo	Mwana	Mubyarawacu
MoFaFaBrSoSoDa	Mwana	Mubyarawacu[15]

Ego's mother, who was the link between Ego and her descent group, was not a figure of authority to the same extent as Ego's father. Her children had to behave respectfully and obediently towards her, but as she was a wife of their father, they saw that she, like they themselves, had to submit to an authority in the home. Moreover, Ruanda placed a very high value on their children and they were more important for the father than his wife. Consequently the children knew that from their father's point of view their mother did not enjoy a status superior to their own. Consequently the mother-son and mother-daughter relations were usually free and affectionate. Very often the mother, when widowed and old, came and lived with one of her children, whereas the old widower frequently lived alone.

The relationship between Ego and his maternal uncle was one of extreme restraint. It was not avoidance: they spoke to each other and Ego came and called on him from time to time. These attitudes were not completely symmetrical: the uncle seemed to consider his nephews only as nuisances. For him they brought ill-luck and they were treated accordingly: they were not allowed to look into his granaries or to milk his cows, and they ate with the servants, The uncle seemed to do all he could to induce them to keep away. But they visited him because there they met his children with whom they were traditionally permitted to have very familiar relationships. The maternal uncle was afraid that Ego would have intercourse with his daughter and that her betrothal to somebody else would thereby be broken. He was also afraid that if Ego married her he would not easily obtain bride-wealth from his brother-in-law. All these reasons were understandable enough.

[15] We do not mention here the maternal half-siblings because they do not belong to their mother's descent group. They are referred to as *Mwenemama* (child of mother).

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

586 sufficient grounds, as in that case the wife had the right of cohabitation with one of her husband's agnates. Socially accepted grounds of divorce for a husband were his wife's neglect of domestic duties, or repeated adultery with a non-privileged partner. Sterility was not a reason for divorce as the man could always take another wife.

The divorced woman left with her only belongings—her clothes. Usually the husband gave her new clothes on that occasion. If bride-wealth and counter-gifts had been exchanged, nothing had to be given by either father. If bride-wealth had been paid, but not the counter-gifts, bride-wealth had to be returned except either where children had been born or where there were other marriage links between the two lineages concerned. If bride-wealth had not been paid, children went to live with their mother's kinsfolk unless their father paid the bride-wealth later. If bride-wealth was not returned and there were no children, the children borne by the wife in a following marriage could be claimed by the former husband.

Young children stayed with their divorced mother till they were seven or eight years old. They were then sent to their father's home where they were taken care of by another of his wives. Later on these children could visit their mother whenever they wished.

587 Divorced women usually married again easily. Their bride-wealth was lower and its payment was delayed till after marriage. But if it was felt that they were responsible for the failure of their previous marriage, then they did not always find another husband.

(f) Celibacy

● 589 Voluntary celibacy was unknown in Ruanda. Every man wanted to be married, to have children and a place of his own. Every girl wanted to be a mother. Those who were impotent (*ibirumba*) usually did not marry. Lepers (*ababembe*), the insane (*abazazi*), [582] and people ill with tuberculosis (*abanyagitunda*) were forbidden to [734] marry. Girls who had refused a husband often remained unmarried, as few men wanted to take the chance of being refused also. Single people lived with their kinsmen. Sometimes Tutsi bachelors were given a homestead and servants by their fathers.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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protection of her grandparents. It is best if she is obedient and thus avoid blows and dinnerless nights.

Friendship between a woman and her daughter must wait until the latter is herself a mother. If a married daughter is kind, she will ask her husband for permission to go to help her mother during the busy season. From her married son, a woman expects presents. If he is too poor to give gifts, she will mock and shame him. If he arrives at her home empty-handed, if he comes back from a job in Uganda or the city without something for her, she will be enraged. It means her son does not like her, for he has not given her a present. However, an intelligent woman very early chooses one of her sons as her favourite—usually a different one from the father's favourite. She struggles on his behalf against the other children of her husband, above all against his half-brothers, the sons of his father's other wives. She protects his heritage, she does not remarry even if left a widow very early, she prevents the brothers of her deceased husband from taking possession of her husband's cows or from chasing her and the children off of her husband's property. A widow, particularly among the Tutsi, prefers to remain on the property given her by her husband without remarrying. She is thus finally independent of a husband's authority. To live where her favourite son lives assures her happiness. A good son, it is said, puts the happiness of his mother before that of his wife.

A full analysis of Rundi "Momism" is not possible here. It seems to depend in part on the biological and symbolic importance of food, which the mother gives or refuses at will; in part on the maternal sorcery of sacrificing her own interests for the sake of her sons; in part on the psychological power of which a mother assures herself during her son's infancy by making him very happy when she praises him and causing him great unhappiness and shame when she ridicules him. Children are, in any event, obliged to respect and love their parents, that is to say, to work for them and to obey them.

When a woman is at last a mother-in-law and grandmother, she has reached the high point of her life as a woman. A mother-in-law and her son-in-law, no matter what their caste, address each other as *umushaseni*, noble. Their relationship is one of highly formal respect, politeness of the highest degree, no jokes and no quarrels. A mother-in-law is the uncontested superior of her daughters-in-law. She orders them to work, she must be given respect, she chooses one of them as her favourite—the one who works the most for her, who is most obedient and docile. Towards her grand-

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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manager is indispensable to a wealthy man, for he has many feudal vassals, serfs, cows and lands. A woman of a powerful and wealthy patrilineage can be of great assistance to her husband in the matter of forming useful political alliances. The wife will probably have considerable influence with her brothers and perhaps also with her father.

The higher the social status of a woman, the higher will be the social status of her husband, and hence the higher the status of the visitors she entertains. In her role as hostess, a clever woman can profit very materially from the visits of her husband's friends and superiors. If she knows she pleases them, she will do them the honour of asking them for cows and other gifts. If her favourite son is ready to take his place in the world, she will look around among the visitors for a likely prospect of whom her son can ask a cow, if it is a family where the traditional values still prevail, or of whom he can ask for a job, if the son has been trained in European schools. In addition, the fair name of a man among his friends depends in no small measure upon the magnificence of the hospitality provided in his home by his wife and upon the gossip that circulates between the visitors and the wife. If a woman is satisfied with her husband, she will see to it that visitors have a good impression of the man. She will find ways to get information to gauge the friendliness of the visitors towards her husband. She will recognize his enemies and know how to defeat them. If she hears from the visitors that there are rumours to the effect that her husband is no longer loyal to his superior, that he does not take care of the cows which his superior has given him, that he will soon be removed from his position and his wealth taken away from him, she will probably seek means to save him, since his downfall will also be hers. However, if the husband is not clever, if he has not been generous, and if the wife sees a way to move to a more favourable position in another marriage, she will risk adding her calumny to the rest. It does not happen often, but when a woman has succeeded in ruining her husband, men talk about it for a long, long time. A mature woman prefers to stay with her husband and then, as a widow, with her favourite son. Among the men with whom she is in contact—her father, her brothers, her husband, her brothers-in-law, her cousins, her sons, and her visitors—an intelligent woman will certainly find a few who are generous and obliging and through whom she can obtain the wealth and power that she desires.

In all this, it is not to be forgotten that a woman is the inferior of her husband and of his distinguished visitors. To get what is wanted, an inferior must know how to please superiors, unfailingly